

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 LONDON 13187 01 OF 02 161722Z
ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 HA-05 SSO-00 NSCE-00
INRE-00 ICAE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10
L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 /078 W
-----108603 161729Z /53

O P 161716Z AUG 78
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9188
INFO AMEMBASSY PRETORIA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY GABORONE PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LILONGWE PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 13187

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PDEV, SF, SW, UN
SUBJECT: NAMIBIA: MEETING WITH SHIPANGA

SUMMARY: AT THE URGING OF HIS SUPPORTERS, SHIPANGA IS RETURNING TO NAMIBIA AUGUST 27. HE HAS TWICE SEEN THE SOUTH AFRICAN AMBASSADOR HERE WHERE HE OUTLINED HIS POSITION ON WALVIS BAY AND POLITICAL DETAINEES AS WELL AS REJECTING FOR THE MOMENT AN INVITATION TO MEET WITH PIK BOTHA. SHIPANGA WILL MAINTAIN THE INDEPENDENCE OF SWAPO/D BUT CONTINUE A CLOSE RELATIONSHIP WITH NNF. SHIPANGA IS PLANNING TO VISIT THE UNITED STATES IN MID-SEPTEMBER AND ASKED FOR USG ASSISTANCE.

SHIPANGA SENSES THAT POLITICS IN NAMIBIA ARE IN FLUX AND THAT HIS PRESENCE IN WINDHOEK COULD FORGE SIGNIFICANT REALIGNMENTS AMONG THE PARTIES. HE IS EAGER TO DEMONSTRATE HIS INDEPENDENCE OF THE SOUTH
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 LONDON 13187 01 OF 02 161722Z

AFRICANS, BUT WHATEVER RELATIONSHIP EMERGES, THE SOUTH AFRICANS PROBABLY SEE SHIPANGA AS A KIND OF GREAT OVAMBO HOPE THAT MIGHT EVENTUALLY PROVE THE UNDOING OF NUJOMA WITHOUT SACRIFICING INTERNATIONAL CREDIBILITY.
END SUMMARY.

1. EMBASSY OFFICER SAW ANDREAS AND ESME SHIPANGA

AUGUST 16. SHIPANGA ANNOUNCED THAT HE PLANS TO RETURN TO NAMIBIA ON AUGUST 27 AND TO REMAIN THERE FOR ABOUT TWO WEEKS. HE SAID HE RECOGNIZED BOTH THE PHYSICAL AND POLITICAL RISKS INVOLVED BUT THE URGINGS OF HIS SUPPORTERS LEFT HIM LITTLE CHOICE. ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL STEYN HAS ASSURED HIS SAFETY AND SWAPO/D REPRESENTATIVES IN SWEDEN HAVE ALREADY RETURNED TO WINDHOEK TO ESTABLISH OFFICES THERE. OTHER EXILES ARE RETURNING FROM AMERICA, KENYA, GREECE AND INDIA TO WORK FOR THE ORGANIZATION. SHIPANGA SAID HE WOULD PREFER TO WAIT UNTIL AFTER ATHISAARI'S REPORT HAD BEEN ACCEPTED AND A UN MANDATE HAD PASSED THE SECURITY COUNCIL, BUT POLITICAL MOMENTUM SUGGESTS HE RETURN BEFORE THE END OF THE MONTH. AND FRANKLY, HE ADMITTED, HE IS FRUSTRATED BY "EXILE POLITICS".

2. SHIPANGA STATED OPENLY THAT HE HAS TWICE SEEN SOUTH AFRICAN AMBASSADOR MATTHYS BOTHA HERE, IN THE FIRST INSTANCE INSISTING THAT THE MEETING TAKE PLACE IN A PUBLIC RESTAURANT. HE DID NOT GO INTO DETAIL ABOUT THE ENCOUNTERS BUT GAVE HIS IMPRESSION THAT THE AMBASSADOR WAS TRYING TO GET THE MEASURE OF THE MAN, PRESUMABLY ON INSTRUCTIONS FROM PRETORIA. SHIPANGA IS CERTAIN THE SAG WILL ACCEPT ATHISAARI'S REPORT AND ALLOW THE WESTERN PROPOSALS TO GO INTO EFFECT. NOR WILL WALVIS BAY BE A MAJOR OBSTACLE (SHIPANGA SAID HE CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 LONDON 13187 01 OF 02 161722Z

STRONGLY SUPPORTED THE SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION ON WALVIS BAY AND THAT HE WOULD RECOMMEND A TREATY COMMITMENT BY AN INDEPENDENT NAMIBIA TO NEUTRALIZE THE ENCLAVE IN EXCHANGE FOR ITS REINTEGRATION INTO NAMIBIA). THE SAG AMBASSADOR SUGGESTED TO SHIPANGA THAT HE MEET WITH PIK BOTHA WHEN HE TRANSITS JOHANNESBURG ON HIS RETURN TO NAMIBIA, BUT SHIPANGA REJECTED THE OFFER AS PREMATURE. SHIPANGA RECOMMENDED TO MATTHYS BOTHA THAT ALL NAMIBIAN DETAINEES BE RELEASED PROMPTLY AND UNCONDITIONALLY (SHIPANGA SAID THAT YA TOIVO WOULD OF COURSE BE FREE TO DO AS HE WISHED IN NAMIBIAN POLITICS BUT NOTED THEY CAME FROM THE SAME VILLAGE. HE ALSO ESTIMATED THERE WERE 1800 SWAPO DETAINEES IN ZAMBIA.)

3. SHIPANGA WILL NOT ARRIVE IN WINDHOEK WITH GRAND PRONOUNCEMENTS. HE WANTS TO SEE FOR HIMSELF HOW NAMIBIA HAS EVOLVED IN THE FIFTEEN YEARS OF HIS ABSENCE. STILL, SHIPANGA EXPECTS HIS RETURN COULD HAVE A CATALYTIC EFFECT ON POLITICAL ALIGNMENTS INSIDE THE COUNTRY, CERTAINLY WITHIN THE DTA AND POSSIBLY WITHIN SWAPO/INTERNAL AS WELL. FOR THE MOMENT, SHIPANGA

WANTS HIS OWN SWAPO/DEMOCRATS TO OPERATE INDEPENDENTLY
BUT IN CLOSE COOPERATION WITH THE NNF. HE DID NOT RULE
OUT EVENTUALLY JOINING THE FRONT BUT HE FIRST WANTS TO
KEEP A DISTANCE TO SEE WHERE HIS OWN STRENGTH MAY LIE.
HE ADMITTED THAT ORGANIZING HIS PARTY WILL COST MONEY

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 LONDON 13187 02 OF 02 161720Z
ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 HA-05 SSO-00 NSCE-00
INRE-00 ICAE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10
L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 /078 W
-----108569 161729Z /53

O P 161716Z AUG 78
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9189
INFO AMEMBASSY PRETORIA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY GABORONE PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LILONGWE PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 LONDON 13187

BUT HE HOPES TO FIND SOURCES IN AMERICA, BRITAIN, AND
GERMANY.

4. SHIPANGA HAD LITTLE GOOD TO SAY ABOUT NUJOMA. HE
NOTED NUJOMA'S IMMEDIATE DEPARTURE FOR MOSCOW FOLLOWING
THE CONTACT GROUP MEETING IN LUANDA. HE SAID NUJOMA
OPPOSED THE RELEASE OF ALL DETAINEES WHO MIGHT
CHALLENGE HIM AND HAD ALREADY EXPOSED HIS TYRANNICAL
STREAK "EVEN BEFORE REACHING STATE HOUSE".

5. AFTER HIS TWO WEEKS IN NAMIBIA, SHIPANGA PLANS TO
RETURN TO LONDON. HE THEN WANTS TO TRAVEL TO THE
UNITED STATES WHERE HE HAS AN INVITATION TO SPEAK AT THE

NEW YORK COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS. LACKING FUNDS,
HE ASKED WHETHER HE MIGHT QUALIFY FOR SOME FORM OF USG
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 LONDON 13187 02 OF 02 161720Z

VISITOR'S GRANT. EMBASSY OFFICER SAID HE WOULD FIND
OUT AND BE BACK IN TOUCH WITH HIM.

6. COMMENT: SHIPANGA SHOWED HIS POLITICAL SAVVY MORE
ON THIS OCCASION THAN ON HIS FIRST VISIT TO THE
EMBASSY. HE IS AN IMPRESSIVE MAN, AND HIS WIFE, WHOSE
INFLUENCE IS APPARENT, IS EQUALLY IMPRESSIVE. THERE IS
CONSIDERABLE COURAGE IN SHIPANGA'S DECISION TO RUN THE
RISKS OF RETURNING TO NAMIBIA NOW BUT HE KNOWS IT'S
THE BEST CARD HE HAS TO PLAY AND ESTIMATES THAT THE
SOONER PLAYED THE BETTER. HE SENSES THAT POLITICS IN
NAMIBIA ARE IN FLUX AND THAT HIS PRESENCE IN WINDHOEK
COULD FORGE SIGNIFICANT REALIGNMENTS. WE ALSO ASSUME
HE WAS ASSURED BY AMBASSADOR BOTHA THAT HIS REENTRY
INTO NAMIBIA POLITICS WOULD NOT BE TORPEDOED BY SOUTH
AFRICA'S LAST-MINUTE REJECTION OF THE WESTERN PROPOSALS.

7. SHIPANGA IS AWARE THAT EFFORTS WILL BE MADE TO
PICTURE HIM AS A SOUTH AFRICAN PUPPET, THE SITHOLE OR
CHIRAU OF NAMIBIA. HIS CANDID ADMISSION OF CONTACTS
WITH MATTHYS BOTHA HERE, HIS POSITION ON NAMIBIAN
DETAINEES IN SOUTH AFRICA, HIS SUPPORT FOR THE SC
RESOLUTION ON WALVIS BAY AND HIS REJECTION OF AN EARLY
MEETING WITH PIK BOTHA ARE CONSCIOUS DEMONSTRATIONS BY
HIM OF HIS POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE. AT THE SAME TIME,
WHATEVER RELATIONSHIP EMERGES, THE SOUTH AFRICANS
PROBABLY SEE SHIPANGA AS A KIND OF GREAT OVAMBO HOPE
THAT MIGHT EVENTUALLY PROVE THE UNDOING OF NUJOMA
WITHOUT SACRIFICING INTERNATIONAL CREDIBILITY.

8. WE WOULD APPRECIATE GUIDANCE ON SHIPANGA'S REQUEST
FOR ASSISTANCE IN TRAVELING TO THE STATES.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 LONDON 13187 02 OF 02 161720Z

BREWSTER

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: POLITICAL STABILITY, POLITICAL LEADERS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 16 aug 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978LONDON13187
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780335-0647
Format: TEL
From: LONDON
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780860/aaaabxoa.tel
Line Count: 218
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 82f4f662-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION AF
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 27 apr 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 1727496
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: NAMIBIA: MEETING WITH SHIPANGA SUMMARY: AT THE URGING OF HIS SUPPORTERS, SHIPANGA IS RETURNING TO NAMIBIA
AUGUST 27. HE HAS TWICE SEEN
TAGS: PDEV, SF, SW, WA, UN, (SHIPANGA, ANDREAS)
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/82f4f662-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014